LAWRENCE MATASAR
OSB #74209
Email: largy@ndvley.com

Email: larry@pdxlaw.com

KRISTA SHIPSEY
OSB #94385
Email: krista@pdxlaw.com
Lawrence Matasar, P.C.
621 S.W. Morrison Street, Suite 1025
Portland, OR 97205
Telephone: (503) 222-9830
Fax: (503) 274-8575
Attorneys for Pirouz Sedaghaty

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT

FOR THE DISTRICT OF OREGON

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,)	Case No. CR 05-60008
Plaintiff,) AFFIDAVIT
vs.) }
PIROUZ SEDAGHATY AND SOLIMAN AL-BUTHE,)))
Defendants.		.)
STATE OF CALIFORNIA)		
County of) ss.		

- I, As'ad AbuKhalil, being first duly sworn, do hereby depose and say:
- 1. I have previously testified as an expert witness in this case, before The Honorable Thomas M. Coffin, on August 22, 2007.
 - 2. My C.V. is attached hereto as Exhibit A.
- 3. I have been asked to prepare this affidavit by Lawrence Matasar to answer the question of whether United States law enforcement officials could obtain accurate information concerning the defendant's address and employment in 2003-07 from

PAGE 1 - AFFIDAVIT

neighbors and business associates in Saudi Arabia, The United Arab Emirates, Iran and Syria.

- 4. In my opinion, the possibility of people providing truthful and reliable information to United States officials on these subjects and in those countries mentioned is quite unlikely.
- 5. Public opinion in those countries is unfortunately almost uniformly very antipathetic to US interests, especially to US law enforcement agencies which are identified in people's minds rightly or wrongly with harassment of Muslims in the United States, and with the curtailment of civil liberties here in the United States especially in the wake of Sep. 11.
- 6. It may be particularly difficult in Syria and Iran, which has been put in the "axis of evil" category. The negative relations between the US and the governments of these countries, and the negative sentiments among the population of those countries toward the US and its security agencies, will drastically reduce the ability of US law enforcement officers to roam freely to ask questions, and it may render the results of those investigations unreliable at best.

7. Mr. Matasar has also asked me to explain the document, attached as Exhibit B. This document grants legal permission from the religious affairs department of the government of Dubai to distribute and use the defendant's book on Islam, *Islam Is*.... This document is dated Jan. 2004.

DATED this ____ day of September, 2007.

As`ad AbuKhalil

SUBSCRIBED AND SWORN to before me this _____ day of September, 2007.

Notary Public My Commission Expires:_____

As`ad AbuKhalil 1129 Gorham Ave. Modesto, CA 95350 (209) 575-0210 AAbukhalil@stan.csustan.edu

Education

Georgetown University—Ph.D. in comparative government, May 1988. Major in Middle East politics and minors in political theory and Russian area studies. Ph.D. dissertation title: *The Politics of Sectarian Ethnicity: Segmentation in Lebanese Society*.

American University of Beirut—MA in political science, May 1983. Graduate thesis title: *Ideology and Practice of a "Revolutionary" Marxist-Leninist Party: A Case Study of the Arab Socialist Action Party—Lebanon.* (Honors with distinction).

American University of Beirut—BA in political science, May 1981.

Experience

Professor of political science, Department of Politics and Public Administration, California State University, Stanislaus, 1993-present.

Visiting professor and Research Associate, Center for Middle Eastern Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 1993-present. Teaches the Middle East survey course at the University (and a course on Gender and Sexuality in the Middle East).

Visiting Professor, Department of Political Science, Colorado College, Winter 2000-2003. Taught courses on Gender and Sexuality in the Middle East.

Faculty Seminar member in Kinship and Politics. Led by Prof. Judith Butler at the University of California, Berkeley, Summer 1999.

Was elected member of the Nominating Committee of the Middle East Studies Association (MESA), 1995 and 2005.

NEH Seminar Participant/visiting scholar, Middle East and Central Asia, Dartmouth College, Summer 1995.

Columnist, *Al-Riyadh*. Wrote two weekly columns on international affairs for the largest Saudi daily, 1993-1996.

Visiting Assistant Professor of Middle East politics, School of Foreign Service/Department of Government, Georgetown University, 1992-93.

The first Sultan Qaboos Scholar-in-Residence in Middle East Studies, The Middle East Institute, Washington, D.C., 1992-93.

Adjunct professor of Middle East studies, George Washington University, Fall 1992.

Faculty Associate, Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Harvard University, 1991-93.

Visiting Assistant Professor at the Department of Political Science, Colorado College, 1991-92.

Was awarded the first Pew Visiting Professor/Scholar-in-Residence chair at Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, VA, 1990-91. Conducted a seminar for faculty development and taught courses.

Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Tufts University, Spring 1990.

Adjunct professor, Government Department, Georgetown University (taught graduates and undergraduates), Summer 1989-1990.

Member, Board of Advisory Editors, *The Middle East Journal*, 1993-present.

Member, Board of Advisory Editors, Arab Studies Journal, 2000-.

Member, Advisory Editorial Board, Journal of Druze Studies, 2001-.

Reviewer, Studies in Comparative International Development, Mobilization, Mediterranean Quarterly, Comparative Politics, International Journal of Middle East Studies, The Middle East Journal, Arab Studies Journal, Journal of Palestine Studies, Lynn Reiner publisher, Cornell University Press, Longman, Oxford University Press, Syracuse University Press, Congressional Quarterly, St. Martin's Press, and World Book Encyclopedia.

Review select manuscripts submitted for publication.

Consultant, ABC News, Summer 1987.

Free-lance translator and Arabic calligrapher, Academy of International Development, 1987.

Consultant, NBC News, June 1985-1990.

Consultant, the Canadian government (1993).

Editor/translator, 'Alam an-Naft, (Beirut-based newsletter on petroleum issues), 1981-1984.

Publications

Books

Historical Dictionary of Lebanon, (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, Asian Historical Dictionaries Series, 1998).

The Challenge of Globalization, (Beirut: Dar Al-Adab, forthcoming).

Bin Laden, Islam, and America's New "War on Terrorism" (NY: Seven Stories and Open Media, 2002).

America's War on Terrorism: Who Split the World into Two? (Beirut: Dar Al-Adab, 2002).

The Battle for Saudi Arabia: Royalty, Fundamentalism, and Global Power (NY: Seven Stories Press, 2004).

Critical Study of Middle East Politics (NY: NYPress, forthcoming).

Encyclopedia

Entries

Articles on "Methodology of Women in the Arab World," "Terrorism," and "Political Islam and Gender," in *Encyclopedia of Women and Islamic Cultures*, (Leiden: Brill, Forthcoming).

"Republic of Lebanon," *World Encyclopedia of Political Parties and Systems*, (Princeton, NJ: Facts on File, 1999).

Nine entries in *Oxford Dictionary of Islam* (NY: Oxford University Press, forthcoming).

"Abu Jihad," "Fath," "Faruq Al-Qaddumi," "Abu Iyad," and "Abu Nidal," in Philip Mattar, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Palestinians*, (NJ: Facts on File, 2000).

"Syria," in *The World Book Encyclopedia*, (Chicago: the forthcoming edition).

"Ghazw," "Islah," "Jihad Organization," "Revival and Renewal," and "Concepts of Class," in John Esposito, ed., *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World,* (NY and London: Oxford University Press, 1995).

Wrote 107 entries in *Encyclopedia of the Modern Middle East*, a project of the Middle East Institute of Columbia University. (NY: McMillan, 1996).

"Political Parties in Lebanon," in Frank Tachau, ed., *Encyclopedia of Political Parties in the Middle East*, (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1995).

Chapters In Books

- "Saudi Arabia," in B. Sherif, ed., *Women Issues: Volume Middle East*, (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2003).
- "Orientalism" in the Arab Context," in Naseer Aruri, ed., Revising Culture, Reinventing Peace: The Influence of Edward Said, (NY: Interlink, 2000).
- "The Construction of Lebanese Identity: A Bloody Plebiscite," in B.A. Roberson, ed., *Postwar Lebanon: The First Decade* (London: I.B. Tauris, forthcoming).
- "The Status of Sri Lankan Domestic Workers in Lebanon: Gender, Race, and Human Rights," in Suad Joseph, ed., *Women and Human Rights in Muslim Communities*, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, forthcoming).
- "Syria" and "The Arab-Israeli Conflict" in Congressional Quarterly's reference volume, *The Middle East*, (Washington, D.C: Congressional Quarterly, 1999).
- "Ideology and Foreign Policy Making in the Arab World," in Manochehr Dorraj, ed., *The Middle East at the Crossroads: The Changing Political Dynamics and the Foreign Policy Challenges*, (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1999).
- "Against the Taboos of Islam: Anti-Conformist Trends in Contemporary Arab Islamic Thought," in William Zartman and Charles Butterworth, eds., *Between the State and Islam,* (NY: a joint publication of the Wilson Center and Cambridge University Press, 2000).
- "Women and Electoral Politics in Arab States," in Joseph F. Zimmerman and Wilma Rule, eds., *Electoral Systems in Comparative Perspective: Their Impact on Women and Minorities*, (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1995).
- "Determinants and Characteristics of Syrian Policy in Lebanon," in Deirdre Collings, ed., *Peace for Lebanon? From War to Reconstruction*, (Boulder, CO: Lynne Reinner, 1994).

- "The Longevity of the Lebanese Civil War," in Karl Magyar and Constantine Danopoulos, eds., *Modern Prolonged Conflicts: Wars of the First Kind*, (Maxwell Air Force Base: Air University Press, 1994).
- "Lebanon and the New World Order," in Phyllis Bennis and Michel Moushabeck, eds., *The New World Order*, (NY: Olive Branch Press, 1993).
- "Society" and "Politics and Government" in *Lebanon: A Country Study*, (Washington, DC: Federal Research Division of the Library of Congress, 1989).
- "PLO" in Robert O. Slater and Barry Schultz, eds., *Revolutionary Changes in the Third World*, (Boulder, CO: Lynne Reinner, 1990).
- "The Shi'ite-Palestinian War in Lebanon: An Examination of Its Origins," *Third World Affairs*, London, 1988.

Scholarly Journals

- "Return to Conspiracy Theory," Al-Adab, October-November, 2006.
- "Political versus Pure Knowledge," *Al-Adab,* (November-December 2003).
- "What is Yet to Come: the Aftermath of September 11," *Al-Adab*, December 2001.
- "How do We Stay Arabs, How do We Stay Human: Confronting Globalization," *Al-Adab*, vol. 49, # 7-8, July-August, 2001.
- "Against Francophonie: The Futility of Lebanese Culture," *Al-Adab*, October, 2001.
- "Change and Democratization in the Arab World: The Role of Political Parties," *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (March 1997).
- "Gender Boundaries and Sexual Categories in the Arab World," *Feminist Issues*, Vol. 15, nos. 1 & 2 (1997).
- "Arabischer Nationalismus am Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts: Territorium versus Islam," in *Inamo Beitrage*, Nr. 2, Sommer 95.
- "Syria and the Arab-Israeli Conflict," Current History, February 1994.
- "Islam and the Study of Central Asia," Arab Studies Journal, Fall 1995.

- "The Incoherence of Islamic Fundamentalists: Arab Islamic Thought at the End of the 20th Century," *The Middle East Journal*, Autumn 1994.
- "Al-Jabriyyah in the Political Discourse of Nasser and Saddam: Rationalization of Defeat," Muslim World, July-Oct., 1994.
- "The Clinton Administration and the Status of Human Rights in Saudi Arabia," *Arabia Monitor*, April 1993.
- "Features of Clinton's Policy Towards the Arab World," *Shu'un Al-Awsat*, August 1993.
- "The Study of Political Parties in the Arab World: The Case of Lebanon," *Journal of Asian and African Affairs*, Vol. V, No. 1, (Fall 1993).
- "A Note on the Study of Homosexuality in the Arab/Islamic Civilization," *Arab Studies Quarterly*, Fall 1993.
- "Democratic Thought and Civil Society," Al-Majal, May 1993.
- "Towards the Study of Women and Politics in the Arab World: The Debate and the Reality," *Feminist Issues*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (Spring 1993). Reprinted in Eve Sandberg, ed., *Comparative Politics*, (Boulder: Coursewise Publishing, 1999).
- "Democratization in the Arab World," *Harvard International Review*, Winter 1992-93. Reprinted in Paul Winters, ed., *Islam: Opposing Viewpoints*, (San Diego: Greenhaven Press, 1995); and in Phyllis Bennis and Michel Moushabeck, eds., *The New World Order*, (NY: Olive Branch Press, 1993).
- "A New Arab Ideology? The Rejuvenation of Arab Nationalism," *The Middle East Journal*, Vol. 46, No. 1 (January 1992).
- "Arab Intervention in the Lebanese Civil War: Lebanese Perceptions and Realities," *The Beirut Review,* Vol. 1, No. 2 (Fall 1991).
- "Ideology and Practice of Hizb-ul-Lah: The Islamization of Leninist Organizational Practice," *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (July 1991).
- "Syria and the Shi'ites: Al-Asad's Policy in Lebanon," *Third World Ouarterly*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (April 1990).

"The Hostage Question in Lebanon," *TIV Report* (The Rand Corporation), Vol. 7, No. 4 (1987).

"Inter- and Intra-Sectarian Conflict in Lebanon," *Journal of Arab Affairs*, Vol. 6 (1987).

"Internal Contradiction in the PFLP: Decision-Making and Policy Orientation," Summer 1987.

"Druze, Sunni and Shi'ite Political Leadership in Present-day Lebanon," *Arab Studies Quarterly*, Fall 1985.

Review Essays

"The Islam Industry' and Scholarship," *The Middle East Journal*, Vol. 58, Number 1 (Winter 2004).

Cataloging Israel's Impact on South Lebanon," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, vol. 4, no. 120.

"George Habash and the Movement of Arab Nationalists: Neither Unity Nor Liberation," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 4 (Summer 1999).

"Arab Intellectuals on Trial," *The Middle East Journal*, Vol. 47, No. 4 (Autumn 1993).

"Georgetown University's Symposium on Arab Women," *Al-Mustaqbal Al-'Arabi*, August 1986.

Internet

"Lebanon and Syria: Search for a Map?", *Bitterlemons-International.org*, August 21, 2003 (Edition 7, vol. 1).

"Lebanon: One Year After the Israeli Withdrawal," PIN no. 58, MERIP Press Information Notes, May 29, 2001.

"Sex and the Suicide Bomber," Salon.com, 11/7/2001.

Magazines, Reports, Newspapers, and Newsletters

"Notes on the Democratic Party Elections," As-Safir, February 6th, 2004.

- "On the Advantage and Disadvantages of Zionism (in Europe and the US)," *As-Safir Annual Supplement* on the New Anti-Semitism, January 2004.
- "The Controversies of the Freedom of Expression in the Arab World, *As-Safir*, August 8, 2002.
- "The US Order and Lebanese Good Behavior," *An-Nahar*, December 14, 2001.
- "Ye, Arabs: The US Wants you to Join the War Against Terrorism," *As-Safir*, September 2001.
- "Revenge Won't Work," San Francisco Bay Guardian, September 26, 2001.
- "A War Without End," Kansas City Star, September 30, 2001.
- "Be an Arab in the US, If you Wish," As-Safir, September, 2001.
- "A Defining Moment in US History," Kansas City Star, October 14, 2001.
- "War Against Terrorism is Not an Issue of Good Vs. Evil," nationally syndicated column through the Progressive Media Project, October 2001.
- "The War in Afghanistan and Beyond," As-Safir, October 16, 2001.
- "Reality is Warped in Local View of the Middle East," *The Modesto Bee,* August 06, 2001.
- "Condit Foreign Policy Votes Provincial," *The Modesto Bee, May 30, 2001.*
- "In Defense of Hanna Batatu: Or Against Vulgar Marxism," *Al-Hayat*, July 29, 2000.
- "Lebanon," in the series of *Foreign Policy in Focus*, published by the Institute of Policy Studies and the Interhemispheric Resource Center. February 2000.
- "Women in the Middle East," in the series of *Foreign Policy in Focus*, published by the Institute of Policy Studies and the Interhemispheric Resource Center, September 2000.

- "A Critical View of King Hussein," Pacific News Service, February 8, 1999. Reprinted in *San Francisco Examiner*, February 11, 1999, and selected by *Mother Jones* website as a must-read.
- "US Increases Quotient of Suffering on Iraq," Pacific News Service, December 22, 1998. Reprinted in *Asianweek*, January 14, 1999.
- "Rebuilding the Socio-Political," *The Daily Star*, (Beirut), December 16, 1998.
- "The Second Phase of the Second Republic," *As-Safir*, (Beirut), December 18, 1998.
- "What Arabs Hear in Clinton's Terrorism Speech," Pacific News Service, August 1998. Reprinted in *La Opinion*, *Caspar Star-Tribune*, and *Philadelphia Sunday Sun*.
- "Lebanon After General Aoun," *Christian Science Monitor*, October 30, 1990.
- "Predictions for Lebanon," *The Middle East Institute Newsletter*, Winter 1989.
- "Arab Diplomacy and US Foreign Policy," *Ar-Ra'y*, (Beirut), March 29, 1988.
- "The Politics of Hostage-Taking in Lebanon," *The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, June 1988.
- "The Politics of Rage: Palestinian Youth Comes of Age," *The Nation*, January 9, 1988.
- "The Underlying Causes of the Amal-Palestinian Conflict," in Elaine Hagopian, ed., *Amal and the Palestinians: Understanding the Battle of the Camps: Viewpoints*, (Belmont, MA: Arab American University Graduates, Occasional Papers, No. 9, 1999).
- "The Presidential Crisis in Lebanon," *The World and I*, December 1988.

Book Reviews

Book reviews in American Political Science Review, International Journal of Middle East Studies, International Historical Review, Harvard University's Middle East Materials for Teachers, Students, Non-Specialists, The Middle East Journal, Middle East Report, MESA Bulletin, Third World Quarterly, Mediterranean Quarterly, Middle East International, Middle East Insight, Arab Studies Journal, Newsletter of the

Lebanese Studies Association, Journal of Palestine Studies, The Beirut Review, Bulletin of the Royal Institute of Inter-faith Studies, and The Middle East Times.

Public Speaking

2006: World Affair Council, Commonwealth Club, and UCLA.

2005: University of Michigan, Seattle ME Film Festival, Pomona College, UCLA, UC, Irvine, Southern Illinois University, University of Toronto, Rice University, and Stanford University.

2004: University of Michigan, Boston Commons Club, University of Wisconsin, University of New Mexico, UCLA, and Merced College.

2003: Stanford University, University of Michigan, Center for Policy Analysis on Palestine (Washington, DC), University of California, Berkeley, University of Maine, Hobart and William Smith Colleges, Yale University, University of California, Santa Barbara, Social Science Research Council (Washington, DC), Georgetown University, and University of Wisconsin.

Public Reading of my book on Bin Laden at Black Oak Books, Berkeley, July 2002.

"The Wars of Globalization," Beirut, June 2002, Beirut Theatre.

"The Arab-Israeli Conflict," California State University, San Louis Obispo (Cal Poly), May 2002.

"Analyzing September 11," Delta College, April 2002.

"The War in Afghanistan," UC, Berkeley, October and November, 2001.

"September 11 and its Aftermath," Merced College, November 2001.

"The War Against Terrorism and the Middle East," November, California State University, Fresno.

"The War in Afghanistan," UC, Davis, November, 2001.

"Analyzing September 11," Napa Valley College, October 2001.

"Memory and Violence in Lebanon," University of Lund, Sweden, October 2001.

Chaired a panel on Women in Islamic Societies Conference, UC, Berkeley, November 2001.

Globalization and Its Impact," Al-Khat Al-Mubashar, Beirut, July 2001.

"Determinants of US Foreign Policy," Al-Liqa', Beirut, June 2001.

"Memory of Violence and Violence of Memory in Lebanon," Rice University, March 2001.

"On the Arab-Israeli Conflict," February 2001, Colorado College.

"On the Palestinian Refugee Question," March 2001, University of California, Berkeley.

"What the Media Is not Covering about the Arab-Israeli Conflict," March 2001, University of California, San Diego.

"The Exclusion of Women from Politics in Lebanon," University of Mainz, DAVO Congress, Germany, October 2000.

"What the Media is Not Covering about the Middle East," University of California, Berkeley, October 2000.

"The Problematique of *turath* in Contemporary Arab Political Thought: The Case of Michel `Aflaq and the Ba`th Party, Center for Middle Eastern Studies, University of California, Berkeley, November 2000.

"Determinants of US Foreign Policy Towards the Peace Process," Lebanese-American University, Beirut, June 2000.

"Political Transition in Syria and Lebanon," May 2000, Canadian Arab Federation annual conference, Toronto, Canada.

"Dead or Alive? The Fate of Arab Nationalism," Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, Georgetown University, March 2000.

"Political Transition in Syria and Lebanon" and "Israel in South Lebanon," Arab-American University Graduates Annual Convention, October 1999, New York.

"Turath in Arab Political Thought and Discourse: A Case Study of Aflaq and Nasser," Middle East Studies Annual Convention, November 1999, Washington, DC.

"The Construction of Lebanese Identities: The Impossibility of Lebanon?," First International Conference on the Druzes, UCLA, June 11-12, 1999.

"An Arab Critique of the Notion of the Clash of Civilization," The Pacific Institute, New York City, April 1998.

Participated in the closed conference on the Palestinians in Lebanon, sponsored by the Centre for Lebanese Studies and the Centre for Refugee Studies, Oxford University, March 1995.

"The Status of Foreign Domestic Workers in Lebanon: The Case of Sri Lankan Maids," Women and Human Rights in Muslim Communities Conference, University of California, Davis, May 1998.

"The Language of Politics in the Arab World: The Paradigm of the Ruling Class," Conference on the Image of Class in Literature, Media, and Society, University of Southern Colorado, March 1998.

"Orientalism in the Arab Context," Celebration of the Works of Edward W. Said, University of Windsor, Canada, Sep. 1997.

"Secularization in the Arab World," University of California, Berkeley, April 1997.

Chair and discussant, "Public Opinion and Foreign Policy: Beyond the US," Panel, APSA annual convention, Sep. 1996.

"The Fallacies of Theologocentrism in the Study of Central Asia," The Middle East Center, Ohio State University, May 1996.

"Secularism in the Arab World," The Middle East Institute 50th Annual Conference, Sep. 1996.

"International Relations and Islamic Jurisprudence," Muhammad V University, Rabat, Morocco, October 1995.

Was a participant in the faculty seminar on religion in world affairs, University of California, Santa Barbara, February 1995.

"Who Represents Civil Society? Political Parties and Democratization in the Arab World," Western Political Science Association, Portland, March 1995.

"US Foreign Policy in the Middle East," University of the Pacific, November 1994.

Delivered the Hardy Chair Public Lecture at Hartwick College, April 1991 on "The Arab Ideological Crisis."

"Understanding Islamic Fundamentalism," American Foreign Service Association, June 29, 1993.

"The Evolution of Syrian Official Thinking on Arab-Israeli Peace Under Hafidh Al-Asad," Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, October 1993.

"Arab Islamic Thought at the End of the 20th Century," Center for Middle Eastern Studies, University of California, Berkeley, October 1993.

"An Analysis of the PLO-Israel Agreement," University of California, Davis, November 1993.

Delivered two lectures on democracy in the Arab world at the Canadian International Development Agency, Ottawa, 1992-93.

"Islam and US Foreign Policy," Overseas Press Club, New York City, April 1993.

"Prospects for Peace in the Middle East," World Affairs Council, Colorado Springs, May 1992.

"The Incoherence of Islamic Fundamentalists," McGill University, Montreal, Canada, May 1993.

"Western Perceptions of Islam," Martin Luther King Library, Washington, DC, March 1993.

Was one of 20 US thinkers invited to a "weekend of dialogue and reflection" by the Aspin Institute and the Pacific Institute, Maryland, April 1993.

"Syria and the Peace Process," Virginia Commonwealth University, April 1993.

"Syria, Lebanon, and Jordan," Foreign Service Institute, Washington, DC, March 1993.

"Democracy in the Arab World," Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars, March 1993.

- "Challenges for US Policy in the Middle East," Close-Up Foundation, March 1993.
- "Human Rights in Saudi Arabia," National Press Club, March 1993.

Congressional Staff Briefing on Middle Eastern developments, US Congress, December 1992.

- "A Preliminary Assessment of the Lebanese Election," The Middle East Institute, October 1992.
- "Democratization of the Arab World," Elliott School of International Affairs, George Washington University, December 1992.
- "Exclusion of Women from Politics in the Arab World: Toward an Understanding," American Political Science Association, annual meeting, September 1992.
- "The Rejuvenation of Arab Nationalism," The Middle East Institute annual conference, October 1991.
- "Al-Jabriyyah in the Political Discourse of Nasser and Saddam," Middle East Studies Association annual conference, November 1991.
- "Ideologies of Arab Nationalism," Graduate School of International Studies, University of Denver, November 1991.
- "The Security Role of the US," US Air Force Academy, Colorado Springs, November 1991.

Participated in a closed US State Department conference on "Syria after the Gulf War," July 1991.

- "Some Determinants of Saddam's Leadership," University of Richmond, School of Leadership, June 1991.
- "Syria and the Politics of the Druze, Sunni, Shi`ite, and Maronite Communities," Canadian Institute of Peace and Security, Ottawa, June 1991.
- "Homosexuality in Islam and Contemporary Arab Society," Randolph-Macon Woman's College, April 1991.

Participated in a panel on the Gulf crisis, Virginia Political Science Association, University of Virginia, December 1990.

- "Origins and Arab Public Perceptions of the Gulf Crisis," University of Virginia, December 1990.
- "Prospects for Peace and Democratization in the Middle East," the 1990 Pew Public Lecture, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, October 31, 1990.
- "Peace Proposals for Lebanon, 1983-1988: Reasons for Failure," Canadian Institute for Peace and Security, Ottawa, September 1990.
- "The Politics of Sectarian Ethnicity in Lebanon," Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Harvard University, March 1990.
- "The Methodology of Knowledge of the Arab World in the US," Rhodes College, February 1990.
- "Ideology and Practice of the Party of God," Middle East Studies Association annual conference, November 1988.
- "The Politics of Sectarianism and the Future of Lebanon," The American University, December 1989.
- "Palestinian and Lebanese Shi`ite Radicalism," US Institute of Peace and the University of Miami, January 1990.
- "Arab Players in the Lebanese Civil War," Arab American University Graduates, annual convention, November 1989.
- Chaired the panel on Islamic revivalism, MESA annual convention, Los Angeles, 1988.
- "Lebanon: What Next?," MESA workshop, November 1988.
- "The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict," School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, July 1989.
- "The Presidential Elections in Lebanon," School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, September 1988.
- "History and Current Status of the Proposed Solutions to the Palestinian Problem," University of the District of Columbia, March 1988.
- Closed conference on the hostage crisis, Ford Foundation, New York City, July 1987.
- "The Future of Lebanon," MESA annual conference, November 1986.

"Terrorism and the Middle East," Chesapeake World Affairs Council, November 1986.

"Shi'ite Fundamentalist Movements in Lebanon," The Middle East Institute, Public Policy Lecture Series, September 1986.

"Islamic Fundamentalism," Institute for Policy Studies, conference on Christian, Jewish, and Muslim fundamentalist movements, June 1986.

Panel discussion on Lebanon, MERIP, May 1986.

"A Critique of the 'Lebanese Resistance Movement'," AAUG annual conference, November 1985.

"Minorities in the Middle East," John Carrol University, April 1985.

"The Current Situation in South Lebanon," University of Kansas at Lawrence, March 1985.

"Religion and Politics in Lebanon," International Studies Association annual conference, March 1985.

Conference on US foreign policy, US Department of State, April 1984.

Also spoke at numerous churches, synagogues, retirement homes, and schools.

Media

Has given interviews on Middle East affairs to the AlJazeera's Al-Ittijah Al-Mu'akis, Al-Jazeera, LBC TV, Al-Alam TV, NBN TV, Syria's Satellite TV Station, BBC, ABC News Nightline, CBS Evening News, Fox Morning News, Post-Newsweek Television, Australian Broadcasting Corporation, BBC News Hour, Tokyo Broadcasting System, Independent News Network, the MacNeil-Lehrer Newshour, CNN International Hour, History Channel, CNN Daybreak, the Today Show, ABC News, NBC News, CBS News Nightwatch, Fox Channel 5 (Washington, DC), WRC Radio, Sun Radio (Miami), CBS Radio (Seatle), Pacifica radio, CBC Radio, National Public Radio, CBC TV, evening news programs on CBS, NBC and ABC affiliates in Washington, DC, Lynchburg, Colorado Springs, and San Francisco, WBGH TV in Boston, the Gannett Newspapers, CNN Crossfire, ABC Prime Time Live, Diane Rehm Show, A.P., Agence France Press, SRG (Swiss Television), The New York Times, The Christian Science Monitor, US World and News Report, Congressional Quarterly, The Washington Times, The Washington Post, USA Today, Macleans, The Nation, Providence Journal, The Wall Street Journal, the National Geographic, In These Times, the Los Angeles Times, World Monitor, The Wall Street Journal, Businessweek, India Herald, As-Safir (Lebanon), Al-Hayat (London), Jewish Telegraphic Agency, New York Post, New York Newsday, Chicago Tribune, San Francisco Chronicle, The Washington Post, Worldwide Government Report, The Philadelphia Inquirer, Newsweek, Al-Watan (Morocco), Denver Post, Rocky Mountain News, Village Voice, Modesto Bee, German Public Radio, FOX News, MSNBC, Hardball With Chris Mathews, Politically Incorrect, Newsday, Dallas Morning News, IBN Radio (Washington, DC), and Turlock Journal.

Languages

Fluency in Arabic and English; proficiency in French and Persian; and elementary German and Hebrew.

Citizenship U.S.